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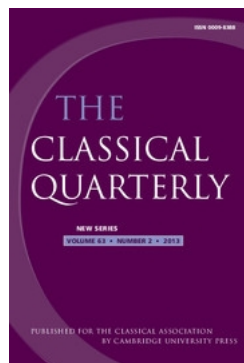
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AN EPIGRAM AND A TREASURY: ON *SIM. FGE* XXXIIIB [B. 162; D. 163; *EG* XXXIII]

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affords a number of parallels.¹⁴ I can supply no convincing explanation for the dislocation of the line, although the similarity in the endings of consecutive lines (-στροφήν 767, στρατόν 773) may have caused the omission of 767. In any event, it is as likely to have fallen out from after 772 as after 769 (Page), 776 (Siebelis) or 777 (van Nes). The manuscripts of the tragedians provide several examples of lines omitted in cases where no obvious palaeographical explanation (homoioteleuton, homoiarkton, vel sim.) is available, in some instances the line being inserted later in the margin or at the foot of the page.¹⁵ On at least two occasions, however, the omitted line and the line preceding it have identical words in the *middle* of the verse in the same metrical *sedes*, as 772 and 767 have γάρ. So, the scribe of Vat. gr. 1345 initially omitted Eur. *Phoen.* 9 (φῶναι λέγουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦδε Λάιον; line 8 reads Πολύδωρον ἐξέφυσε, τοῦ δὲ Λάβδακον), later adding it, in the correct place, between the lines. And the scribes of both Madrid 4677 and Leiden Voss. gr. Q4A omitted *PV* 515 which, curiously enough, ends in οἰακοστροφήος (τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστροφήος; line 514 reads τέχνη δ' ἀνάγκης ἀσθενεστέρα μακρῷ), the former adding it in the margin while, in the latter manuscript, the line was added between the lines by a later hand.

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¹⁴ *Pers.* 667–70, *Sept.* 336–8, *Suppl.* 713–14, *Ag.* 532–4, 832–34, 1186–7, *Cho.* 75–6, 753–5 (with πῶς γὰρ οὐ; intervening), 989–90. See also *PV* 333 (πάντως γὰρ οὐ πείσεις νιν· οὐ γὰρ εὐπιθής.).

¹⁵ *Pers.* 164, 391, 467, *Sept.* 232, 1037, *PV* 17, 196, 515, 721, 818, Eur. *Phoen.* 9, 37, 65, 73, 97–8, 406, 437, 636, 842, 868, 964, 1079, 1082, 1158, 1170, 1379, 1403, 1666. I have relied for these examples on the collations of R.D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge, 1964) and D.J. Mastronarde and J.M. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai*. University of California Publications in Classical Studies 27 (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1982).

AN EPIGRAM AND A TREASURY: ON *SIM. FGE* XXXIIIB [B. 162; D. 163; *EG* XXXIII]

Κίμων ἔγραψε τὴν θύραν τὴν δεξιάν,
τὴν δ' ἐξιόντων δεξιάν Διονύσιος.

Cimon painted the door to the right,
and the right door as one goes out, Dionysius.

(*Anth. Pal.* 9.758)

Denys Page correctly classified this epigram, which comes from a series of *Simonidea* in the ninth book of the *Palatine Anthology*, as a signature epigram.¹ The Cimon

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to the anonymous reader of *CQ* for a number of suggestions and improvements. I am grateful to Melissa Mueller and Ivana Petrovic for discussing this epigram with me. The abbreviations of the epigraphic corpora follow *SEG*. *CEG* = P.A. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica Graeca*, vols. 1–2 (Berlin, 1983; 1989); *EG* = D.L. Page, *Epigrammata Graeca* (Oxford, 1975); *FGE* = D.L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981). All references to *EG* and *FGE* are limited to the corpus of the epigrams ascribed to Simonides, unless otherwise stated.

mentioned in the first line of the epigram is regularly identified as Cimon of Cleonae,² a late sixth-century B.C. painter commended by Pliny (*HN* 35.34) and Aelian (*VH* 8.8) for his technique and, possibly, use of perspective. The identity of Dionysius from line 2 is disputed:³ from little that we know of a painter named Dionysius of Colophon who may have been a younger contemporary of Cimon, it is difficult to reach any conclusion. What connects the two artists is that they were both famed for their portrayal of humans and that they may have entered in a sort of a competition with each other.⁴

The location of the epigram proves elusive and commentators have so far refrained from suggesting a precise physical setting for the verses. Taking my cue from Page's remark that the epigram was painted on a door,⁵ I would suggest that the phrase τὴν δ' ἐξιώντων δεξιάν [θύραν], refers to the doors of a temple (or a precinct) or, most likely, to a door leading to a temple treasury (θησαυρός).⁶

Epigrams with artists' signatures are very well attested on a variety of objects, from vases to monumental funeral paintings, and can be dated to as early as the late Archaic period. That such signatures can take form of verse inscriptions is also attested in the context of temple architecture: Pliny reports that in the early fifth century B.C. the shrine of Ceres in the Circus Maximus at Rome was decorated with paintings and sculptures by Damophilus and Gorgasus. Damophilus and Gorgasus decorated the right- and left-hand side of the shrine respectively, and their works of art were accompanied by verse inscriptions indicating in Greek who did what: there can be little doubt that these epigrams resembled XXXIIIb to some extent.⁷

As is well known, painters' signatures typically consist of some form of the verb γράφω and an object in the accusative.⁸ The convoluted expression ἔγραψε ... τὴν

GVI = W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* (Berlin, 1955). Overbeck = J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Hildesheim, 1959²). On 'signature epigram', see *FGE*, 246. On the *Simonidea* in Bk. 9 of *Anth. Pal.*, see M. Boas, *De epigrammatis Simonideis* (Groningen, 1905), 141–2; 185–7.

² Identified also in a further epideictic epigram, *Anth. Plan.* 84, *FGE* XXXIIIa. For literary sources on Cimon, see Overbeck, nos. 375–9, 67–8; for further information, see G. Lippold, s.v. Kimon (10), *RE* 11, 454; for a bibliography, see *Brill's New Pauly*, Cimon [4].

³ *FGE*, *ibid.* Page rejects association of Dionysius from the epigram with Dionysius of Colophon (see Overbeck, No. 1136) accepted by Diehl, Budé and Beckby.

⁴ On Dionysius see Plin. *HN* 35.113: *nihil aliud quam homines pinxit, ob id anthropographos cognominatus*. The anonymous reader for *CQ* points out that the epigram may bear witness to an agonistic relationship between Cimon and Dionysius: Page *FGE*, 246 plausibly argues that epigram XXXIIIa (a signature epigram by Cimon) is a reply to XXXIIa (a boastful signature epigram by Iphion of Corinth), originating from a rivalry in a competition. In this sense it appears attractive to think of the epigram XXXIIIb as originating in a sort of a competitive context as well; its wording would then imply that Cimon and Dionysius both came out of it victorious or, at least, standing both on the right side, as equals. On official competitions between painters in context of sanctuaries, see J. Onions, *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome* (New Haven, CT and London, 1999), 64–70. However, according to Pliny, competitions in painting were instituted at Delphi and Corinth only in the mid fifth century B.C. (Plin. *HN* 35.58). While this may be a slightly late date for Cimon's participation in such official competition, some sort of a local agonistic context cannot be excluded either.

⁵ Page concisely notes in the apparatus of *EG* XXXIII: *picturae in portis inscr[iptae]*. In *FGE* XXXIIIb, 246 Page points out that the epigram was in all likelihood a *graffito*.

⁶ Some have thought that the location of the epigram is fictitious: A. Hauvette, *De l'authenticité des épigrammes de Simonide* (Paris, 1896), 142 assumes the poem was a ποιήγιον, and argues that the wordplay with the adjective is unsuitable for a real inscription. The reasoning is unassailable.

⁷ Plin. *HN* 35.154 (XLV) = Overbeck, No. 616: *Plastae laudatissimi fuere Damophilus et Gorgasus, iidem pictores, qui Cereris aedem Romae ad circum maximum utroque genere artis suae excoluerunt, versibus inscriptis Graece, quibus significarent ab dextra opera Damophili esse, ab laeva Gorgasi*. On Damophilus see also Overbeck, No. 1647.

⁸ The accusative object is often a deictic, sometimes a personal pronoun: the earliest attestation is

δ' ἐξιόντων δεξιάν [θύραν] was considered by Page to be 'oddly phrased', while Hugh Lloyd-Jones stressed that this elocution 'might be accounted for by the desire for an euphemism'.⁹ Both observations are fitting: the repetition of δεξιά seems indeed to be motivated by the wish to avoid any quality judgement or comparison between the individual flaps which would be implied by the use of ἀριστερός.¹⁰ On the other hand, the expression is indeed an unusual and a marked elocution – and one which has parallels in the very specific context of the language of Greek financial records (especially of the temple inventories and public accounts).

Δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντι, 'on the right-hand side as one goes in', like ἀριστερῶς εἰσιόντι, 'on the left-hand side as one goes in', is a marked phrase found in Attic and Delian inscriptional temple inventory lists from the fourth century B.C. onwards.¹¹ Such inscriptions, often placed on the sacred ground in the vicinity of a treasury or on its walls, give a conspectus of the content of the treasury: typically, the lists record the object, its location, its monetary value and sometimes also the name of the dedicator.¹² In such a context, the elocutions δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντι and ἀριστερῶς εἰσιόντι are used as topographical references pointing out the physical location of an object in the treasury (typical objects found in such lists would include *phialai*, lamps, cups, seals, rings, crowns, to name but a few). At times, the reference to the location of the object is doubly highlighted on the stone: first, by being cut in bigger letters than the rest of the text,¹³

the one of Exekias from *CEG* 1, Nos. 436–7, 242–3; cf. Ἐσχεκίας ἔγραψε κάποιεσ ἐμέ; Ἐσχεκίας ἔγραψε κάποιεσ ἐμέ. See also *FGE* XXXIIa: Ἰφίων τόδ' ἔγραψε and XXXIIb Ἰφίων ἔγραψεν ἑαί χερσί. On artists' signatures in verse, see R. Wachter, 'The origin of epigrams on "speaking objects"', in M. Baumbach, A. Petrovic and I. Petrovic, *Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram* (Cambridge and New York, 2010), 254–6. For a list of epigrams of pre-Hellenistic artists' signatures in the literary record, see K. Gutzwiller, 'Art's echo: the tradition of Hellenistic epigrammatic epigram', in M.A. Harder, R.F. Regtuit and G.C. Wakker (edd.), *Hellenistic Epigrams* (Leuven, 2002), 85–112, at 90 with n. 9. For versified ἔγραψε signatures in the funerary context, see e.g. *GVI* 1482.3; 1895.12; 2035.16. For reflections on art in the Simonidean epigrams, see L. Bravi, *Gli epigrammi di Simonide e le vie della tradizione* (Roma, 2006), 120–4; at 124 Bravi stresses that Simonidean epigrams dealing with art objects often include technical vocabulary: 'Sul piano della lingua va registrata la presenza di un lessico specialistico' and lists ἀρχέτυπον (*FGE* LXVI.2), ἀσκητός (*FGE* LXIII.2), ἔγραψεν (*FGE* XXXIIIb.1), διηκριβώσεν (*FGE* LXVI.1), and ξέσε (*FGE* LVII.1) as his examples.

⁹ *FGE*, 246; H. Lloyd-Jones, review of D.L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams: Epigrams before A.D. 50 from the Greek Anthology and other sources not included in 'Hellenistic Epigrams' or 'The Garland of Philip'*, *CR* 32 (1982), 139–44, at 141.

¹⁰ See LSJ s.v. ἀριστερός, 4. However, *CQ*'s anonymous reader insightfully remarks that playful dexti-*assonance* (τὴν δεξιάν, | τὴν δ' ἐξιόντων δεξιάν) also prepares the viewer for 'another word featuring Delta in a prominent position: namely the name of the artist Dionysius'. Furthermore, τὴν δεξιάν, | τὴν δ' ἐξιόντων 'creates a kind of pseudo-anadiplosis, which seems ... somewhat humorous'.

¹¹ In a forthcoming paper, Elizabeth Kosmetatou analyses pertinent idioms in the context of inventory lists; she kindly commented by email: 'the phrase is usually δεξιᾶς / ἀριστερῶς εἰσιόντι or δεξιᾶς / ἀριστερῶς εἰσιόντων, but there are variations as well'. Topographic labels of Delian and (some) Athenian temple inventory lists, including 'on the left / right entering the temple', have been collected by R. Hamilton, *A Treasure Map: a Guide to the Delian Inventories* (Ann Arbor, 2000), 413–14.

¹² Cf. e.g. *IDélos* 442 B 36–9: δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸν νεῶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος: φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ ἐμ πλινθεῖσις Π, ὧν μία ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐστίν· καὶ πῖλος ἀργυροῦς· στέφανος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ προκομίου καὶ ἡ ἀναθεθεῖσα φιάλη ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Τηλεμνήστου ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Κώϊων, ἀρχιθεάρου Ἀλθααμένου, καὶ ἡ ἀναθεθεῖσα φιάλη ἐφ' ἱεροποιῶν Ὀρθοκλέους καὶ Πολυβούλου, ἀνάθεμα Μενεστράτου Ἀθηναίου· ἄλλη φιάλη, δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸν νεῶ, Ἰπποκρίτου Κώϊου. See also *IG* II² 1456.25–26 (partly restored); 1487.42 and 47 (partly restored); 1489.8 (partly restored); *IG* II² 1534.49.

¹³ Cf. e.g. *IDélos* 442 B 36, 39, 61.

and second, in so far as the expression is often placed at the beginning of a line. Another financial record, *IG II²* 1657.5–6 (an account of the fortification of Piraeus), supplies a parallel for τὴν δ' ἐξιόντων δεξιάν from line 2, that is for avoidance of the adjective ἀριστερός.¹⁴

Thus, the expression τὴν δ' ἐξιόντων δεξιάν in the epigram seems to have been modelled after a technical expression found in the epigraphic record: the author's clever deployment of the technical language typically limited to temple inventories and financial records thus implies the same status and value for the paintings themselves that the objects in the treasury possessed.

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¹⁴ ἐπ' Εὐβολίδο ἄρχοντο[ς] | ἀπὸ τὸ σημεῖο ἀρξάμε|νον μέχρι τὸ μετόπι|ο τῶν πυλῶν τῶν κατὰ|τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον ἐπὶ δεξι|ᾷ ἐξιόντι. See also: δεξι|τῇ παρ' ἐξιόντι], *SEG* 21 562.27.

A NEW APPROACH TO THE DESCRIPTION OF A BABYLONIAN HYDRAULIC WORK BY HERODOTUS

1. INTRODUCTION

Herodotus is a fascinating author, not only to scholars of history, but also to a wide spectrum of scientists, such as engineers, who are not usually considered to be relevant to humanistic studies. A strong indication of the persisting interest in Herodotus is the recent proliferation of books, for example those of C. Dewald and J. Marincola¹ and A. M. Bowie,² on various aspects of his work. At the same time, there is a remarkable interest in the evolution of knowledge in different scientific fields which promotes the understanding of a) the relationship between socio-economic phenomena and technological progress and b) the process of acquiring and documenting scientific knowledge. In the field of hydraulics and hydrology in particular, this interest is documented by journal papers (for example by L.W. Mays et al.³ and D. Koutsoyiannis et al.⁴), books (for example by A.K. Biswas,⁵ Ö. Wikander⁶), book chapters (for example by A.I. Wilson⁷) and conference proceedings.

The aim of our paper is to shed new light on a Babylonian hydraulic work described by Herodotus and attributed by him to Nitocris. Our initial point of view was that his

¹ C. Dewald and J. Marincola (edd.), *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus* (Cambridge, 2006).

² A.M. Bowie (ed.), *Herodotus: Histories Book VIII* (Cambridge, 2007).

³ L.W. Mays, D. Koutsoyiannis and A.N. Angelakis, 'A brief history of water supply in antiquity', *Water Science and Technology: Water Supply* 7(1) (2007), 1–12.

⁴ D. Koutsoyiannis, N. Zarkadoulas, A.N. Angelakis and G. Tchobanoglous, 'Urban water management in Ancient Greece: Legacies and lessons', *Journal of Water Resources Planning and Management* 134 (2008), 45–54.

⁵ A.K. Biswas, *History of Hydrology* (Amsterdam and London, 1972).

⁶ Ö. Wikander (ed.), *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology* (Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2000).

⁷ A.I. Wilson, 'Hydraulic engineering and water supply', in J.P. Oleson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World* (Oxford, 2008), 285–318.